

13. Zurita, p. 105.

463 we can infer that the merchants as well as the artisans and laborers were in the calpullis.

Furthermore, on the one hand, in general the parents educated their children to exercise the same occupations [as they, the parents] (14), and on the other is made a statement of much importance:

14. Mendocino Codex [Código Mendocino],
folio 70; Zurita, p. 110, III; Román y Zamora,
II, p. 127, etc.

that upon the birth of children of the common people they placed in their hands miniatures of the instruments of their calling (see p. 28). One gathers from this that from birth it was known what a child's occupation would be when he reached adulthood; and that this occupation usually was that of his father, that is, that there was inheritance of the productive occupation. This surely also happened with the merchants, since we are told that they could only be merchants with the permission of the rulers or because they came to it through inheritance (15). We thus have, beyond doubt,

15. Zurita, p. 142.

inheritance of occupation in the social division of labor.

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● 795 It appears that in Tenochtitlan this division of labor occurred by wards, as in Tezcoco (where those in one ward had the same occupation, all those of the ward must have it and there must be no mixture of others with them (16)), since in all the provinces of Mexico

16. Torquemada, I, p. 146.

the specialization in things to sell was by "wards" (17). Moreover

17. Motolinía, Memorials [Memoriales], p. 236.

—and this is the fundamental proof—one can establish a correlation between names /p. 49/ of "wards" and occupations (see p. 50), drawing together scattered data or Torquemada's and Sahagún's which refer to this division of labor and to the specialization by

463 groups in the worship of the deities. Three affirmations reinforce
 Y 618 this correlation: one concerning the magical consecration of the
 ● 795 people to an activity which was made before some idol (see p. 28),
 probably the ward idol; another was that the festivals of some months
 were "like" guild festivals (18), that is, of isolated groups, probably

18. Jonghe, p. 292.

of wards; and finally, that in the festivals for the idols were involved
 the members of a single "ward" and not those of others (19).

19. Magliabecchi, Commentaries on the Section
[Comentarios a la Sección] 92.

The result of this correlation between activities, "wards" and
 deities is presented here in a table, and explains completely for us
 the character of the social division of labor in Tenochtitlan: it was
 by "wards" which separated tribal chiefs, pulque-makers, merchants,
 etc. It is a division which could be called a class one only with
 difficulty, since it makes no sense, for example, to speak of the
 class of pulque-makers since, if that were the case, they would be
 on an equal "class" footing with the merchants. It would appear
 rather to correspond to a guild division, since the class of a guild
 is the organization of people who do the same work (20) and that

20. Boak, A. R., and Pirenne, H., 1944.

within them obtains the separation between manual workers and
 directors which was present also among the Tenochcas, as we have
 already seen (see p. 23). However it would be very strange to speak
 of a guild of rulers, as we would have to do if we accepted that the
 division of labor by "wards," which the Tenochcas envinced, was by
 guilds; and it is to falsify the situation since the lords do not possess
 the characteristics of manual labor which are basic in a guild organi-
 zation. I believe I can prove, furthermore, that these "wards" —
 which probably were calpullis since in general their names do not
 coincide with those of the tlaxilicallis—were clans, and that
 therefore the division of labor, like the ownership of the land, the
 territorial distribution of the population, and the social stratification,
 were the result of an organization of the Tenochcan population by

463 clans. And thus indeed it is not anachronistic to speak of clans of
X68 rulers, nor of clans of pulque-makers.

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/p. 50/ TABLE OF CORRELATIONS BETWEEN CALPULLI-WARDS,
CALPULLI-TEMPLES, OCCUPATIONS AND DEITIES IN
TENOCHTITLAN (1)

1. The names are for the most part of calpulli "wards." Nevertheless at times names of temples were taken which certainly corresponded to "wards." They appear in this case not to correspond to tlaxilacallis, except for Tzapotlan.

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Calpulli or ward	Occupation	Deities
1. Yopico 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12.	Silversmiths, 3, 4, Gold-workers 5, Xochimanques, 6, Water carriers 7, lords and kings 8, Calmecac 9, 11, 12.	Totec 2, 3, Xipe 2, 3, 4, 5, Coatlicue 6, Coatlatona 6, Chalchitlicue 7, 8, 9, Tlaloc 10, Tquiztlimayahuel 11.
2. Huitznahuac 12, 15.	lords 13, fishermen 14, Calmecac 12, 15.	Huitzilopochtli 13, 16, Opochtli 14, Huitznahuac 15, Centzonhuitznahuac 17, Tezcatlipoca 18.
3. Itepeyoc 19.	lords 19.	Huitzilopochtli 19.
4. Amantla 20, 21, 22, 23.	Tultecayotl 22, seamstresses 23, 25, dyers (female) 23, feather workers (female) 23, painters, 24.	Tizahua, Macuillocelotl, Macuilitochtli, Xihui, Tlati, Xilo, Tepoztecatl 20, Coyotlinahual 21, Chicomexuchitl 24, Xochiquetzal 25.
5. Pochtlan 20, 26.	merchants 20, 26.	The markets in Amantla with 20, and Yiacatecuhtli 26.
6. Auachtlan 27.	merchants 27.	

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Calpulli or ward	Occupation	Deities
7. Atlahuico 28.	merchants 28.	
8. Acxotlan 29, 30.	merchants 29, 30, 31.	Nahui Ehecatl 30, Chiconquiahuitl, Xomocuil, Cochimeti, Yacapitzahuac, Nacxiti, Chalmeacacihuatl 31.
9. Tlamatzinco 12, 32.	pulque-makers 32, 33, tavern keepers 34, Calmecac 12, 35.	Tlamatzincatl 12, 32, Izquitecatl 33, Coatlicue 35.
10. Atempan 36.	Medicasters and diviners 37.	Toci 36, Mother of the gods 37.
11. Tzonmolco 37, 39, 12.	Makers of the lord's more important vestments 38, calmecac 12, 39.	Xiuhtecuhtli 37, 38, 40, Hueheteotl 38, Ixcozauhqui 39.
12. Tzapotlan 40.	Sellers of Uxiti 40.	Tzapotlatena 40.
13.	Makers of petates 41.	Nappatecuhtli 41.
14.	Precious stone workers 42.	Chicnahuitzcuhtli, Nahualpilli, cinteotli Cihuacoatl 42.

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2. Sahagún I, p. 121, 240.
3. Torquemada, II, p. 58.
4. Torquemada, II, p. 252.
5. Sahagún, II, p. 385.
6. Torquemada, II, p. 254.
7. Sahagún I, p. 40, 116.
8. Sahagún, I, p. 22.
9. Sahagún, I, p. 84.
10. Sahagún, I, p. 84, 87.
11. Torquemada, II, p. 153.
12. Sahagún, I, p. 220. They are included also with Calmecac to Tlillancalco (Cihuacoatl), Tetlanman (Chantico) and Mexico (Tlaloc).
13. Torquemada, I, p. 193.
14. Sahagún, I, p. 39; Torquemada, II, p. 61.
15. Sahagún, I, p. 220.
16. Sahagún, I, p. 137.
17. Sahagún, I, p. 221.
18. Torquemada, II, p. 150.
19. Sahagún, I, p. 215.
20. Sahagún, I, p. 142, 215.

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21. Sahagún, II, p. 389.
 22. Sahagún, II, p. 392, 389.
 23. Sahagún, II, p. 392.
 24. Sahagún, I, p. 112.
 25. Sahagún, I, p. 112.
 26. Torquemada, II, p. 272; Sahagún, I, p. 225.
 27. Sahagún, II, p. 350.
 28. Sahagún, II, p. 350.
 29. Sahagún, III, p. 49.
 30. Sahagún, I, p. 326.
 31. Sahagún, I, p. 42.
 32. Sahagún, I, p. 190.
 33. Sahagún, I, p. 190.
 34. Sahagún, I, p. 112.
 35. Torquemada, II, p. 151; Sahagún, I, p. 104.
 36. Sahagún, I, p. 179. Sahagún in I, p. 238 says that the cuecuextecan young men go to the ward of Atlampa during this festival.
 37. Torquemada, I, p. 234.
 38. Sahagún, I, p. 29.
 39. Sahagún, I, p. 239.

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40. Sahagun, I, p. 20.

41. Sahagún, I, p. 46; II, p. 59.

42. Torquemada, II, p. 60; Sahagún, II, p. 387, 88.

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THE CALPULLI AS A CLAN

Chapter 6

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/p. 55/ PROOFS THAT THE CALPULLI WAS A CLAN

The territorial organization of Tenochtitlan, the ownership of land, the division of labor and the social stratification, and other aspects of the social organization of Tenochtitlan which were not treated in the first part of this study, such as education (1) and religion

1. See Education among the Aztecs [La Educación entre los Aztecas], Monzón, 1946.

(2), in which the influence of the calpulli is of great importance, and

2. In the chapter referring to the division of labor I touch lightly upon these relationships between calpullis and religion (p. 49) which suggest problems which should be studied more fully.

which have themselves a determining role, present us with the fundamental problem of the social organization of the Tenochcas: Were the calpullis clans, or simply wards, or guilds, or another type of social organism? Outwardly they have elements of all the foregoing. What was their internal organization? The answer to these questions will give us for sure a correct idea as to the bases of the social organization of the Tenochcas and of its evolutionary stage. Therefore we are going to attempt to answer them. The calpulli (Nahuatl 'large house') is an organism which has been presented as a clan by some authors, or as the remains of a clan by others (see the Introduction), and certainly the calpulli was the Tenochca clan, if the Tenochcas had clans. This granted, in order to know whether the calpulli had